C 622
generals, that is the ones who have several camps under their command, have at least one wife in each camp.

C M 846
Two or three days after delivery, mother and child wash, the new mother resting for only that length of time.

The father acknowledges his child and takes it into his arms with the following words: "This is my child." In some tribes it is customary for the husband to take to his bed when his wife is in labor, as an act of acknowledgement; and among the Chiriguanos the man takes his place beside his wife and for three days is cared for as if he had... given birth to a child! Then he gets up, but does not make any trips or work until seven days have elapsed, after which period the wife also gets up and washes. While the couple is in labor they eat nothing but water and a pap made with corn and bean broth; they abstain from eating meat.

M 595 [588] [847]
It is quite common for a man to have two or more sisters simultaneously as wives. I can also give assurance that every now and then a father will not disdain even his own daughter. If no one will acknowledge a child as his own the mother may kill it.

M 844
The Indians are very skilled midwives: the white settlers themselves use their services. It is said that they are extraordinarily expert in taking advantage of the precise moment of crisis, holding the patient in a more or less straight position, apparently even shaking her, but without doing her harm. To this activity they add words to which the Indians attribute [185] virtue and to which the whites, who do not understand them, ascribe even more. So is it always!

C M 832
Let it not be thought, however, that in the matter of love-making they limit their efforts to a more or less expressive pantomime. The fact is that they have words and expressions and a language which lend themselves admirably to amorous declarations and which they use. The harmoniousness of the Guaraní language is well known to all, it might even be said that it is too much so when used by the men and by the Chiriguanos, whose mother tongue it also is. But even the Matacos, the rude, unpolished Matacos who seem to be the last on the anthropological scale of all these South American Indians, have their harmonious expressions and the well-bred ideas which correspond to them.

M 832
I remember an occasion on board ship when there was among us a good looking Indian woman who was quiet, impassive and even

123
had been tormenting him for so long, and had extracted from his 755
body several pens and a pencil, under guise of which, they said,
the a'hot had been harming him.

[211] The women seem to be extraordinarily able as mid- 844 ●
wives. 759

With singular ability they wait for the critical moment of labor and then, raising and holding the mother-to-be they shake her and keep uttering their customary exorcisms until they are successful in their endeavors.

However, if one wishes to be in on an interesting spectacle 755
one must see an invalid getting the full treatment in a village.

One evening while I was camped near a tribe I became curious on hearing a great sound of voices and the repercussion of strong blows on the ground. As my relations with these Indians was of the very best I did not hesitate to go to see what was afoot. In the midst of the village, in a sort of central square, I saw a circle of black figures illuminated fitfully by the blaze of the fires; they were the squaws and men who were sitting on their heels smoking in silence. In the center of the circle, in a space of about eight meters, four robust men with ostrich feathers and timbrels at their ankles, wrists, waists and on their heads were running back and forth, with their hands raised, gesticulating wildly and rattling some gourds half filled with seeds which added to the noise. They ran about singing and howling, and one could see that they were panting and covered with sweat. They would straighten out their legs and pound the ground with the whole sole of their feet, and as they did this they would raise their voices in a mad, desperate way, with their arms on high, heads to one side and body curved over.

Alternately two of them would stop, crouch, move their heads rapidly from right to left and up and down, howl and blow and spit on the backs, legs, heads and mouths of two invalids who were seated in their midst.

The two sick men were suffering terribly from the a'hots which 753
had entered their bodies in the form of rheumatic pains, and the
witch doctors were attempting to drive them out with their infernal dance. This, it was understood, they would be unable to do until they managed, by means of their unbridled racing about and thumping, to tire and intimidate the a'hots who, with evil intent

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12

CHAPTER VI.

Birth customs.

M 843 Various customs are practised at the birth of a child, many of which are of a religious significance, their aim being to protect the new-born child and its mother against supernatural dangers. Both the ideas and the practices to which they give rise are much the same among the Choroti, the Mataco, and the Tobas. As soon as the Indian woman feels herself to be pregnant she begins to observe certain rules with regard to her diet. She generally abstains from eating meat, contenting herself with maize and certain leaves. T [843] The Toba women during this time take particular care not to eat fish. and with other kinds of animal food she is cautious. Thus if she eats the paunch or the intestines of a cow she will fall ill and birth will be rendered more difficult. When the child arrives, it is washed in water, the umbilical cord is cut off with a snail's shell and guarded for some time with great care. M 844 If the cord were cut off with a knife, the child, it is believed, would soon die. No iron instrument must come in contact with the new-born babe. Again, the navel-string cut off must be guarded until the navel wound is perfectly healed. If it is thrown away prematurely, this would be the same as throwing away the life of the child, which would die in consequence. The umbilical cord, according to the idea of the Indians, remains in some mysterious connection with the new-born M [171] child. These ideas are found among all Pilcomayo tribes, but they seem to be common to all South American Indians living in a state of nature.

The rites and ceremonies taking place after the little one has arrived all depend on the belief of the Indians that there is a very intimate connection between the child and its mother, and that both of them are badly exposed to the attacks of evil spirits. Fully to understand them and the behaviour of the woman in child-bed we must first of all take into consideration that the Indian woman in general bears children with great

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)193? SI7 Mataco SI7

Choroti SK6

M 844 ● C 844

ease, without suffering much pain. From the point of view of the savage it is of special importance that this should be so. As the *Choroti* explained the matter to me: if at the birth the woman is ill, this is due to her being possessed by an evil spirit, and the demon, owing to the close connection between mother and child, will also take possession of the latter causing it to fall ill and die. Hence the weakness and sickness from which possibly she is suffering must be concealed and reasoned away. The Choroti have a stereotyped phrase to express this: *lasīhe īse lóuet = lahse ihe, eis lóuet*, that is: »when the child is born, the mother is well». As a matter of fact, a few hours after the delivery the Choroti woman is seen to move about doing some small tasks in the house, fetching water, preparing food, and so on. In short, she acts as if she were quite hearty, thus deceiving herself, her relatives, and the evil spirits. But the curious thing is that among the Choroti the *father* of the child, seemingly instead of the mother, lies in bed, looks weak, fasts, and is attended by the women, in short, behaves just as if he were the person who had given birth to the child and were suffering pains. The precaution which the woman shares with her husband, in addition to abstaining from hard work, is that she has to diet. Like him she avoids meat, limiting her diet to boiled and mashed maize, the leaves of certain trees and certain other vegetables.

C 846

This is the custom generally known under the name of *la couvade* (»hatching») and which among the Choroti exists in its most typical form. The father remains lying in bed for five or six days, or *until the navel-wound of the child is perfectly healed*. The reason for this is quite obvious and was, besides, expressly pointed out to me by the Indians. The navel-wound may become a dangerous source of infection, and the new-born child is in its most delicate condition during the first days or until the navel-wound is healed.

M 846 171

Before I give further explanations of the ideas underlying the couvade practices I shall say a few words about the birth customs of the Mataco and the Tobas. These tribes do not practice couvade in the proper sense of the word, but they have the same ideas about an intimate connection existing between the new-born child and both parents.

M 846

What I have stated as to the birth customs of the Choroti also holds true of those of the *Mataco*, with the exception that the Mataco father does not actually lie in bed. He has nevertheless to take certain precautions, and the fact that he pretends to be in a delicate condition during the first critical days of his child's life is shown by the expression the Mataco use of him. He is said to have an *aſttah limpáh*, that is to say.

3: Metraux E-5 (1933) 1939 SI7 Mataco SI7

A pregnant woman must avoid sexual intercourse if she does not want to incur disgrace by having twins.

To avoid accidents and to facilitate delivery, pregnant women use certain medicines, especially the *litsitáx* root which they toast and pound into a powder in a mortar. They never wear belts or stretch themselves lest the child take a wrong position. The woman brings the child to birth in a squatting posture, she holds on to a stick at this time. Her husband and an old woman give her any assistance she may need. The afterbirth is buried and the navel is cauterized with the burning stem of a gourd. At the birth, the father picks up the child and it bears his likeness, but if ist is picked up by someone else the child will resemble that person. When twins are born, which seems to occur very seldom, one is taken by the mother of the woman and is brought up as her own child.

Woman cause abortion by using a certain plant (*nLo̱t*) which looks like manioc. The root is ground and taken with water. The sterilizing effect of this drug may last for two, four, or eight years.

c) *Names*

The name is given by the father when the child is from one to three years old. The father may dream of an animal, an object, a sentence or a word pronounced by one of the charcters in his dream, and this becomes the name of the child. A name is often distorted, a fact which explains their queer form. For instance *čalax* »black woman» has become *načalax* and *apan-toi* »bread», *hapʔap*.

d) *Marriage*

The suiter may get the approval of his future father-in-law by giving him money or cattle, but very often the authorization of the girl's father is far less essential than that of the mother. If she opposes the marriage there is absolutely nothing that can be done. It may happen that the father

843 from a certain tuber which has been roasted and then ground in a mortar. The husband unties his belt and undoes the knot in his tie so that the umbilical cord not wrap itself about the child's neck.

844 Only on rare occasions are there any complications at birth. According to the observations of a medical missionary, Doctor Collins Smith, labor lasts about two [sic] hours for the first child and around four or five hours for the others. A delivery often gathers a numerous crowd, and the neighbors take up positions close to the woman who is in labor, without showing any particular interest, but ready to take part should it be necessary to render any assistance. Old women, greatly experienced, come to assist the woman in labor, especially if the delivery is a difficult one. These benevolent matrons [431] usually receive a gift--a goat or a piece of cloth--by way of payment for their trouble.

The pregnant woman who is about to deliver is placed on the thighs of one of these crones, who is seated cross-legged on the ground. She takes hold, with both hands, of a pole which is stuck vertically into the earth in front of her and grips it firmly as the pains become greater. Other informants have told me that women give birth to their babies in a squatting position directly onto the ground; but they confirmed the matter of the use of a rod or pole stuck into the earth. If the labor is difficult or longer than is usual, one of the matrons presses the body of the uterus with her hands as would a doctor wishing to expulse the plancenta mechanically. If the woman in labor is unable to keep her sitting position, she lies down in such a manner that one of the helpers may rest her knee against the perineum, while another woman massages her in the uterine region.

Any mishap which may occur in the process is [10] attributed to witchcraft or to the husband's negligence who may have violated one of the numerous "tabus" which he is obliged to observe.

The umbilical cord is cut with a knife. It is never cut before the appearance of the placenta, as a child's life is not complete until his placenta has been expelled. According to one of my informants [752] the navel wound is cauterized with an incandescent pumpkin stalk. If the placenta is long in coming, the women exert upon the abdomen the same type of pressure used to accelerate the baby's birth. The placenta is buried without any kind of ceremony. The umbilical cord is dried and put into a little leather bag in the shape of a rhomboid, which the child carries about his neck until he is ten years old.

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 SI7 Mataco SI7

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535
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[177] Fig. 2.—Two Mataco girls electing partners among the younger men, who are performing their nightly chain-dance. Nowadays, especially the young men wear European rags. Flash-phot. Fock.

Formerly,

582 it was customary that two bands lived close to each other as, for example, the satnáy and sitóy, and consequently the girls from the satnáy preferred to marry men of the sitóy band, and girls of the sitóy men of the satnáy band. The two [622] bands became so inter-married that "the whole thing was like one band", and the two chiefs were able to discuss questions of dispute. Here, therefore, developments had gone in the direction of forming temporary, loose marriage classes. The [611] descent rules of the Mataco are patrilinear, so that, theoretically, exogamy should not impede cross-cousin marriage. In the meantime, there is no example of this practice, the nearest case being a single instance of a man's marriage to a sister's daughter. These cases must presumably be understood as expressing a man's wish to preserve his original locality. This is theoretically only possible in a matri-local exogamous patrilineal system by marrying one's sister's daughter.

583 It has been mentioned that a young man and girl who move in together [591] always move to the house of the girl's family. Here they merely dwell temporarily, as a rule for about a year, so that the girl can give birth to her first child with the [844] advice and assistance of her mother. The previous sexual relations of the girl are [585] considered as trial marriages, but the birth of the child is regarded as the final [847] test, whereafter she and the child's father are deemed to be married. She is then [581] called *enutsha tahnayéy*. Should a girl prove with child during a trial marriage,